

## THE NATIONAL TRIBUNE.

(ESTABLISHED 1877.)

TO CARE FOR WHOSE BODIES THE BATTLE, AND FOR HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN. ADVANCE, LONDON.

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tion of pension laws that is so sorely needed. See to it that every ex-soldier who is not already enlisted in the ranks of THE TRIBUNE's army is mustered forthwith! Subscribers who receive sample copies should endeavor to obtain at least one new subscription for each copy sent.

A Delusion and a Snare.

Elsewhere in our columns we print the text of the Warner pension bill, which was rushed through the House on Monday last, together with a synopsis of the brief debate that was allowed on the measure. Designed in good faith, it may be, to facilitate the adjudication of pension claims and give immediate relief to deserving applicants, this bill is, nevertheless, in our judgment, a delusion and a snare, and should it become a law in its present shape will be productive of the greatest injustice.

In the first place, it makes it a condition that the claimant to pension under this act shall surrender all right to arrears. If he has filed a claim to pension under the arrears law and elects to prosecute his claim under this proposed act, it is provided that he shall only draw pension from the date of such election. Mr. Rogers, of Arkansas, who advocated its passage, openly declared that "it takes from all, however meritorious any pension for any period of time, prior to making application under the bill." Said Mr. Warner, of Ohio, who reported the bill: "They [the claimants] give up their claims for arrears, and take pensions only from the date of filing such declaration."

It places the Government in the position of trying to cheat its creditors out of the money due them. It amounts to saying to the soldier: "We know that your claim is meritorious and ought to be allowed, but you have not been able as yet to furnish the proofs required by the Pension Office, and you are, therefore, at our mercy. If you will give up the arrears of pension due you, we will abate something of our requirements as to proof, and, perhaps, allow you claim to pension from present date; otherwise, we will suspend action on your claim until you do." Was there ever a more shameful or outrageous proposition!

In the second place, in claims filed since the expiration of the arrears law, it makes it a condition that the claimant who elects to prosecute his claim under this bill shall surrender his right to pension from the date of his original application to the date of filing this last declaration. What justice is there in this?

If the claimant in this class of cases has any right to pension at all, that right dates from the filing of his original application, and to refuse to give him the benefit of this bill, except upon the condition that he waives this right, is to take a shameful advantage of his helplessness. Instead of a bill to expedite the settlement of pension claims, this ought to be entitled "An act to scale the Government's debts to the soldier!" It is downright repudiation—nothing more, nothing less.

In the third place, this bill fails to make any provision whatever for the widows and minor children of those who may die after being awarded pensions under it.

But we have been proceeding under the assumption, so far, that the bill really does afford some relief, and have only set forth the injustice and unreasonableness of the conditions under which claimants are allowed to take advantage of it. Is that assumption really justified by the terms of the bill? Does it really provide for any abatement in the amount of evidence required to establish a claim? Let us examine the language of the bill. What is the applicant required to prove?

Let that be now disabled. To determine this fact he must go before a board of examining surgeons as now.

2d. That his disability is not the result of his own misconduct or bad habits or other known cause occurring since his discharge, and that it probably was incurred in the line of duty. This is in the nature of negative testimony—the most difficult of all to furnish.

Finally, he is required to make "due proof of the facts, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the proper authority," and that proper authority—the Commissioner of Pensions—is to be the judge of whether this proof affords probable cause to believe that his disability originated in line of duty. In what respect do these requirements differ from those prescribed by existing law? As Representative Browne justly remarked, the difference is simply that while under the old law the claimant was entitled to a pension even if he served but a day or week, if he incurred disability, under the proposed law he must have served three months! If the proposed law waives anything in favor of the claimant, it is only such requirements as under existing law ought not to be exacted by the Pension Office. It merely gives the soldier the benefit of the doubt, to which he is entitled under the present law, and of which he should never have been deprived.

The fact is that the only positive merit in this bill is contained in the provision of the last section that the fact that a claimant served three months shall be regarded as *prima facie* evidence of his soundness at date of enlistment, and this, not because it is new legislation, but because it is declaratory as to how the Commissioner of Pensions should construe the present law.

To sum it all up, this bill is a delusion and a snare. The relief which it pretends to afford is intangible, the sacrifice which it imposes upon those who, by reason of their poverty, may be driven to apply for pension under it, monstrous and cruel. Our ex-soldiers have asked for bread and Congress has given them a stone.

What will you do about it, comrades? The bill is now before the Senate, and whatever is done to secure its modification must be done at once. It is our own judgment that

the pension committee of the Grand Army, whose recommendations have been thus deliberately disregarded in the enactment of this measure, should be immediately convened at the capital to remonstrate against its passage, and that every ex-soldier, whether a comrade of the Grand Army or not, should at once by letter to his Senators and Representatives enter his protest against the consummation of this great wrong!

The Pension Tragedy.

There are few things in this world more tragic than the history of these pension cases. There is not any tragedy which can be put upon the stage which could so move the feelings of a right-minded man, and especially of an American legislator, like the stories which come to us, day after day, and week after week, and month after month, and year after year, of the hope deferred, of the poverty, the sorrow, the anxiety of these men and the widows and orphans of the men who have given their life and health and strength and the best part of their manhood to the safety of the country. We have done something to relieve this pressure in the Pension Office, but it still continues, and it is a reproach and disgrace to American legislation and American administration that it does continue.—Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts.

The expression is none too strong. It is, indeed, a reproach and disgrace that nineteen years after the war there should still be pending in the Pension Office 244,505 original claims to pension without any prospect of their immediate adjustment, and it is high time that the cause of this delay were definitely ascertained and effective measures taken for its removal. Let us see, if by eliminating from consideration the causes which are clearly insufficient to account for such a state of things, we cannot arrive at the true cause of this delay.

In the first place, it must be admitted, that this delay is not in any sense due to the lack of funds to settle these pending claims. Of the sum appropriated for pensions during the present fiscal year, amounting to \$136,000,000, the Commissioner of Pensions estimates that \$66,000,000, or more than one-half of the total, will remain unexpended at the close of the year, showing clearly that allowances of double the value of those actually made could have been paid, had he granted them.

In the second place, this delay cannot be attributed to the lack of clerical force in the Pension Office, since Congress authorized the employment of all the additional clerks that the Commissioner demanded, and the latter has since then indicated that he has now more than he actually needs.

In the third place, this delay cannot be due to the failure of the Pension Office to consider the claims pending before it, for the Commissioner reports that the office is fully up with its work, having reached a point, as he says, when nothing further can be done in about 235,000 claims, out of a total of about 244,000 pending, until the claimants produce the "requisite" evidence called for, or reports called for have been received from the Departments or witnesses, or a special examination has been had at claimant's home. Indeed, the Commissioner specifically declares that "the responsibility for delay, save only in the 14,500 cases in the hands of special examiners, is, therefore, shifted from the Pension Office to the claimants, who are in default for evidence. In my judgment, the force, therefore, may be considerably reduced at the end of the fiscal year, July 1, 1884."

But if this delay in the 244,000 claims pending before the Pension Office is not due (1st) to the lack of funds wherewith to pay them, or (2d) to the lack of sufficient clerks to pass upon them, or (3d) to the failure of these clerks to give them proper consideration, what does it result from? Commissioner Dudley asserts in the most positive way that it is solely the consequence of the failure of the claimants to furnish the "requisite" evidence to establish their claims; but we submit that his conclusion is only justified by the supposition that the requirements of the Pension Office in regard to evidence are reasonable and do not exact impossibilities from the claimant. If they are not in accord with the spirit and intent of the pension laws, but are so contrived as to impede rather than facilitate the determination of meritorious claims, then most assuredly the responsibility rests with the Pension Office and not with the claimants. What are the facts as to that? Are the exactions of the Pension Office as to evidence just and reasonable, or are they in the nature of arbitrary rulings, without warrant in law and owing their origin to the mean and contemptible suspicion entertained by the former Commissioner (Bentley) of the genuineness of all claims to pension?

Let our readers examine the reports of the House Committee on Invalid Pensions in regard to private pension bills, which we print in another column, and judge for themselves! They cannot fail to perceive that it is not because of any lack of merit in these claims, or insufficiency of reasonable proof, that they are rejected by the Pension Office, but solely because of the disposition of the latter to accept any evidence as conclusive, that does not completely satisfy its own technical requirements. What severer commentary could be made on the course pursued by the Pension Office than is contained in these reports, which show that the evidence which failed to convince the pension examiners that the claims in question ought to be allowed, was, in the judgment of a committee of Congress, sufficient to warrant their payment without question. Well may our veterans demand to know why it is that the Pension Office does not accept as conclusive the evidence which, upon an impartial examination, appears to members of Congress to be abundantly ample to justify it in allowing claims! And well, too, may the thought excite alarm and consternation that it is in this same narrow and illiberal spirit—that shameful misconception of the intent and meaning of the pension laws—that the 244,000 claims that are still awaiting action will be considered and passed upon by the pension examiners when they come

up before them for adjudication! What ground is there for hope that these deferred claims will ever be allowed if the purpose of the pension laws is to be thus thwarted by the enforcement of arbitrary requirements which these laws neither contemplate nor sanction? Representative Hart, of Ohio, hit the nail on the head when he said, in the course of his remarks on the pension appropriation bill in the House, on the 11th inst., that he had "at times been impressed with the idea that in the examination of cases their [the officers of the Pension Bureau] subordinates are too much inclined to presume everything against a soldier and against the integrity of his claim, and they search for grounds upon which to reject it. They are not liberal in the construction of the rules of evidence. Many claims of high merit are sacrificed to the application of narrow and technical rules. These pension laws should at all times be administered in a broad and liberal spirit, and in full view of the purposes to be accomplished." A significant illustration of this application of narrow and technical rules was brought to our notice, the other day, in the shape of a letter from the Commissioner, requiring an applicant for a pension, who was discharged from the service on account of disease of the lungs, the result of a severe attack of the measles contracted during his service, to furnish the names of such of his relatives as had ever suffered from lung disease. Was there ever a more preposterous demand?

But there is no occasion to produce further examples of the unreasonableness of the Pension Office rulings. That unreasonableness is notorious, and it is the real and all-sufficient reason for the present delay in the settlement of the mass of pending pension claims. To put an end to it, it is only necessary that the Commissioner and his subordinates should construe the pension laws in the broad and liberal spirit that they were intended to be construed. The laws themselves are equitable and just; it is because their administration is impeded by arbitrary rulings, for which they afford no warrant, and which it requires no act of Congress to abolish, that so many applicants for pensions cannot secure action on their claims.

We impute no blame to Congress for this miscarriage of justice. In section 402 of the Revised Statutes it has afforded all the latitude to the soldier as to the manner in which he shall establish his claim that is necessary, namely, that he shall make "due proof" of the fact that he was disabled in line of duty "according to such forms and regulations as may be provided in pursuance of law," and if these forms and regulations contravene the purpose of the law and are irreconcilable with its spirit, it is the fault of those who are charged with their formulation and execution. Congress has cheerfully and promptly voted all the money demanded by the Commissioner, not only for the payment of claims, but for the employment of such clerical force as he deemed necessary to the speedy settlement of the business of his office; yet the humiliating fact stares us in the face that there are still 244,000 applicants for pension awaiting the adjudication of their claims.

We sincerely regret that it should be necessary to call public attention to such a state of things. Our readers will bear us witness that from the beginning of Commissioner Dudley's administration we have expressed the most absolute confidence in his purpose to do full justice to our ex-soldiers in the adjudication of their claims and have most earnestly supported his demands upon Congress for the appropriations necessary to the payment of these claims as well as the employment of such additional clerical force as he saw fit to call for. We have never questioned the integrity of his motives or those of his subordinates, among whom we know there are many men who possess the highest qualifications for the duties required of them, and whose sympathies are all with the soldier, and we do not now impugn them. But when we remember what the Commissioner set out to accomplish three years ago, and compare it with the results actually achieved, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that there is something radically wrong in the policy of his administration. That "something," as we have already pointed out, is his insistence on technical rules which, as he has himself admitted, frequently compel the rejection of meritorious claims, and which it is clearly within his authority—since they are not prescribed by the statutes—to abrogate or modify; and we feel, therefore, that he owes it to himself, as well as to the victims of the delay which the enforcement of these technical rules occasions, to exercise the right which he undoubtedly possesses of doing away at once and forever with every technical requirement that is not absolutely essential to the making of "due proof" in pension claims and that is not in accord with the real spirit and meaning of the pension laws; and so put an end at last to the pension tragedy!

COMRADE WRIGHT, whose letter defending the action of the trustees of the Iowa Agricultural College in appointing an ex-Confederate captain to the chair of military science and tactics, will be found in another column, is very much mistaken if he thinks THE TRIBUNE is not disposed to give the Confederate soldier a "fair deal